

## Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 NEW DE 09506 051412Z  
ACTION NEA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07  
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15  
USIA-06 AID-05 PC-01 OMB-01 /063 W  
-----056701 051425Z /44

P R 051305Z JUL 77  
FM AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4489  
INFO AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD  
AMCONSUL BOMBAY  
AMCONSUL CALCUTTA  
AMCONSUL MADRAS

C O N F I D E N T I A L NEW DELHI 9506

E. O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PINT, PGOV, IN  
SUBJECT: JAMMU AND KASHMIR ELECTIONS: NATIONAL CNFERENCE  
SWEEPS THE ALLEY; GAINS OUTRIGHT MAJORITY IN STATE ASSEMBLY

REF: NEW DELHI 9273

SUMMARY. SHEIKH ABDULLAH'S NATIONAL CONFERENCE HAS WON AN OUTRIGHT MAJORITY IN THE J&K STATE ASSEMBLY, CAPTURING 43 OF THE 70 SEATS FOR WHICH RESULTS HAVE BEEN DECLARED. ABDULLAH'S PARTY SCORED AN ALMOST CLEAN SWEEP IN THE VALLEY. JANATA AND CONGRESS VICTORIES HAVE BEEN LARGELY CONFINED TO HI DU-MAJORITY PARTS OF JAMMU. THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE'S SWEEPING VICTORY DEMONSTRATES IN AN OPEN ELECTION ABDULLAH'S PREEMINENCE AS UNDISPUTED LEADER OF THE STATE'S MUSLIMS. DES- PITE THIS CLEAR MANDATE, HE IS WELL AWARE OF THE CENTER'S ULTIMATE POWER OVER J&K AND ITS WILLINGNESS TO EXERCISE THIS. HE MAY NOW FOCUS ON MENDING HIS FENCES WITH NEW DELHI. THE ELECTION RESULTS DEMONSTRATE THE POWERFUL APPEAL OF REGIONAL PARTIES AND TEND TO REINFORCE JANATA'S IMAGE AS A PARTY OF HINDI-SPEAKERS. THE MAJOR NEAR-TERM QUESTION MARK IS ABDULLAH'S  
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 NEW DE 09506 051412Z

ABILITY TO GOVERN AS HE RECOVERS FROM HIS HEART ATTACK. END SUMMARY.

1. WITH 70 OF THE 76 CONTESTS DECLARED AS OF 1500 HOURS JULY 5, SHEIKH ABDULLAH'S NATIONAL CONFERENCE HAS WON AN OUT- RIGHT MAJORITY IN THE JAMMU AND KASHMIR STATE ASSEMBLY, CAPTURING 43 SEATS. JANATA CANDIDATES HAVE WON 13 SEATS,

CONGRESS 10, AND INDEPENDENTS (ALL DESCRIBED AS JANATA "REBELS) FOUR. BY ALL ACCOUNTS, SOMETHING OF AN "ABDULLAH WAVE" SWEEPED THE VALLEY. NATIONAL CONFERENCE CANDIDATES HAVE PICKED UP 36 OF THE 38 SEATS DECLARED IN KASHMIR THUS FAR, THE OTHER TWO GOING TO JANATA NOMINEES. NATIONAL CONFERENCE CONTESTANTS ALSO WON 7 SEATS IN JAMMU, APPARENTLY ALL IN AREAS OF SUBSTANTIAL MUSLIM POPULATIONS. IN HINDU-MAJORITY PARTS OF JAMMU, SEATS WERE DIVIDED AMONG JANATA (11), CONGRESS (10) AND INDEPENDENTS (FOUR). IT APPEARS FROM PRESS REPORTS THAT THE JANATA CANDIDATES WHO WERE SUCCESSFUL CONTESTED IN AREAS WHERE THE JANA SANGH HAS BEEN POWERFUL, WHILE THE WINNING CONGRESSMEN RAN IN PARTS OF JAMMU WHERE DR. KARAN SING (WHO CAMPAIGNED ENERGETICALLY ON THEIR BEHALF) RETAINS POCKETS OF TRADITIONAL INFLUENCE.

2. MOST OF THE LEADERS OF THE JANATA'S NEWLY-ESTABLISHED UNIT IN THE VALLEY, INCLUDING SUCH ANTI-ABDULLAH FIGURES AS GHULAM MOHIUDDIN KARRA, WERE DEFEATED BY NATIONAL CONFERENCE CANDIDATES. THE VOTERS ALSO REJECTED SEVERAL PROMINENT POLITICAL FIGURES WHO HAD JOINED THE JANATA PARTY AFTER THE LOK SABHA ELECTIONS. ACCORDING TO PRESS REPORTS AND RECENT TRAVELLERS IN SRINAGAR, BALLOTING WAS GENERALLY PEACEFUL AND HEAVY, WITH OVERALL VOTER TURNOUT ESTIMATED AT AROUND 70 PER CENT.

3. PRIME MINISTER DESAI HAS SENT A MESSAGE CONGRATULATING THE SHEIKH ON HIS PARTY'S VICTORY AND WISHING HIM A FULL RECOVERY  
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 NEW DE 09506 051412Z

FROM HIS HEART ATTACK. ABDULLAH AROSE FROM HIS SICKBED ON JULY 4 AS THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE VICTORY BECAME APPARENT AND BRIEFLY ADDRESSED HIS FOLLOWERS GATHERED OUTSIDE HIS RESIDENCE. ACKNOWLEDGING THAT IT WILL TAKE SOME TIME BEFORE HE IS FULLY RECOVERED, HE URGED HIS SUPPORTERS NOT TO BE VENGEFUL TOWARD THEIR DEFEATED OPPONENTS.

4. THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE'S SWEEPING VICTORY IN THE VALLEY AND IN MUSLIM PARTS OF JAMMU REAFFIRMS SHEIKH ABDULLAH'S PREEMINENT POSITION AS UNDISPUTED LEADER OF THE STATE'S MUSLIMS. THE SWEETNESS OF VICTORY WAS PROBABLY ENHANCED BY THE FACT THAT MANY OF HIS OLD FOES, WHO HAD GATHERED UNDER THE JANATA BANNER TO DENY HIM THE CHIEF MINISTERSHIP, WERE THEMSELVES DEFEATED FOR THE ASSEMBLY SEATS. IN CONTRAST TO HIS PREVIOUS TERM AS CHIEF MINISTER IN 1975-77, WHEN HE CONSTANTLY HAD TO DEAL WITH A CONGRESS MAJORITY IN THE ASSEMBLY WHICH WAS DISGRUNTLED OVER HIS IMPOSITION BY THE CENTER, THE SHEIKH NOW HAS WON A CLEAR MANDATE ON HIS OWN. HE IS WELL AWARE, HOWEVER, OF THE ULTIMATE POWER OF THE CENTER OVER KASHMIR AND ITS WILLINGNESS TO EXERCISE THIS. WE WOULD ANTICIPATE, THEREFORE, THAT HAVING EFFECTIVELY RAISED THE STRAW MAN OF THE "THREAT" TO THE STATE'S CONSTITUTIONAL

POSITION AS HIS MAJOR CAMPAIGN THEME, HE WILL NOW QUIETLY DROP HIS NON-ISSUE TO FOCUS INSTEAD ON MENDING HIS FENCES WITH NEW DELHI. ONE POSITIVE AUGURY FOR REASONABLY HARMONIOUS RELATIONS BETWEEN THE CENTER AND J&K IS THE SHEIK'S WARM FRIENDSHIP WITH SEVERAL JANATA LEADERS, PARTICULARLY J.P. NARAYAN. PERHAPS THE GREATEST QUESTION MARK IN THE NEAR TERM, HOWEVER, CONCERNS ABDULLAH'S HEALTH AND HIS ABILITY TO GOVERN THE STATE AS HE RECOVERS FROM HIS HEART ATTACK. UNTIL HIS CONDITION IMPROVES, IT MIGHT BE NECESSARY FOR HIS DEPUTY, MIRZA AFZAL BEG, TO ACT IN HIS PLACE AS CHIEF MINISTER. THERE SEEMS LITTLE DOUBT HERE, HOWEVER, THAT EVEN FROM HIS SICKBED THE "LION OF KASHMIR" WILL CONTINUE TO CALL THE SHOTS.

5. THE JANATA'S POOR SHOWING IN AREAS OUTSIDE TRADITIONAL  
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 NEW DE 09506 051412Z

JANA SANGH STRONGHOLDS IN JAMMU, BESIDES DEMONSTRATING ABDULLAH'S PERSONAL POPULARITY, ALSO INDICATES THAT THE PARTY HAS FAILED TO ESTABLISH ROOTS AMONG KASHMIRIS. MANY VOTERS APPARENTLY PERCEIVED THE JANATA IN KASHMIR AS BEING LITTLE MORE THAN AN OPPORTUNISTIC COLLECTION OF DEFECTING CONGRESSMEN AND OPPONENTS OF SHEIKH ABDULLAH AND DECISIVELY REJECTED IT. THE PRESTIGE OF SUCH FIGURES AS MIRWAIZ MAULVI FAROOQ, WHO HAD ENERGETICALLY THROWN HIS AWAMI ACTION COMMITTEE INTO THE FRAY AGAINST THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE, HAS BEEN SEVERELY DIMINISHED. IN ADDITION, AS IN TAMIL NADU AND WEST BENGAL, THE JANATA PARTY'S EFFORTS TO ESTABLISH BASES OF STRENGTH OUTSIDE THE "HINDI BELT" HAVE ONCE MORE BEEN REBUFFED. THE J&K ASSEMBLY RESULTS AGAIN DEMONSTRATE THE APPEAL WHICH REGIONAL PARTIES AND LEADERS CAN EXERT. IN ADDITION, THE FACT THAT JANATA WON ITS SEATS ALMOST EXCLUSIVELY IN HINDU-DOMINATED PARTS OF JAMMU TENDS TO REINFORCE ITS IMAGE AS ESSENTIALLY A PARTY OF HINDI-SPEAKERS.  
GOHEEN

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** ELECTION RESULTS, PROVINCIAL ELECTIONS, POLITICAL PARTIES  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Sent Date:** 05-Jul-1977 12:00:00 am  
**Decaption Date:** 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 22 May 2009  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1977NEWDE09506  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** n/a  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** GS  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Expiration:**  
**Film Number:** D770238-0121  
**Format:** TEL  
**From:** NEW DELHI  
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 1  
**Legacy Key:** link1977/newtext/t19770792/aaaadbtw.tel  
**Line Count:** 154  
**Litigation Code IDs:**  
**Litigation Codes:**  
**Litigation History:**  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM  
**Message ID:** f41a5171-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc  
**Office:** ACTION NEA  
**Original Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 3  
**Previous Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Previous Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Reference:** 77 NEW DELHI 9273  
**Retention:** 0  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 01-Mar-2005 12:00:00 am  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**SAS ID:** 1966360  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** JAMMU AND KASHMIR ELECTIONS: NATIONAL CNFERENCE SWEEPS THE ALLEY; GAINS OUTRIGHT MAJORITY IN STATE ASSEMBLY  
**TAGS:** PINT, PGOV, IN  
**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
**vdkgvkey:** odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS\_Docs/f41a5171-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc  
**Review Markings:**  
Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
22 May 2009  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009